

HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
HISTORICAL & ACTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 162

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ZIONISM

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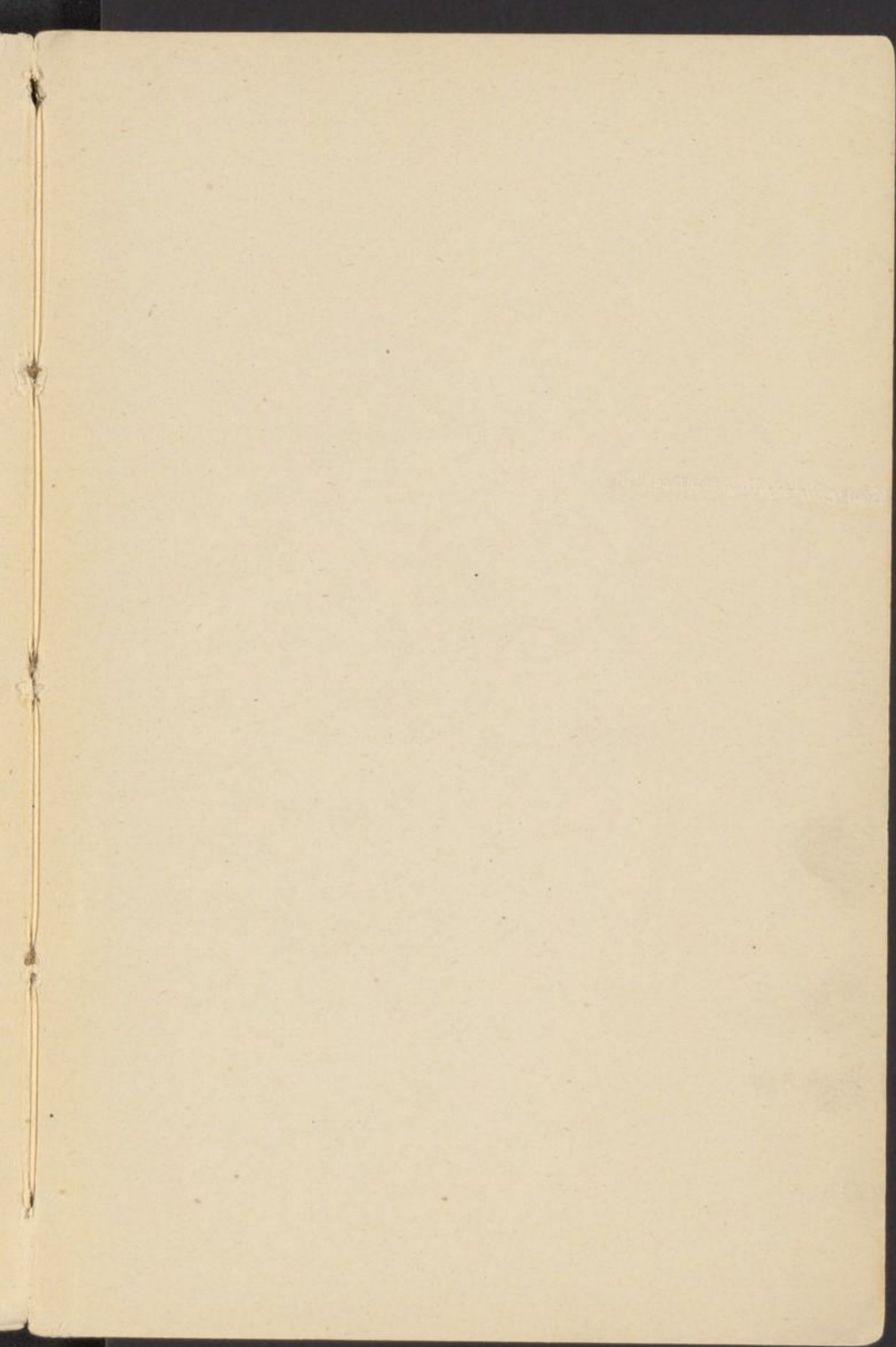


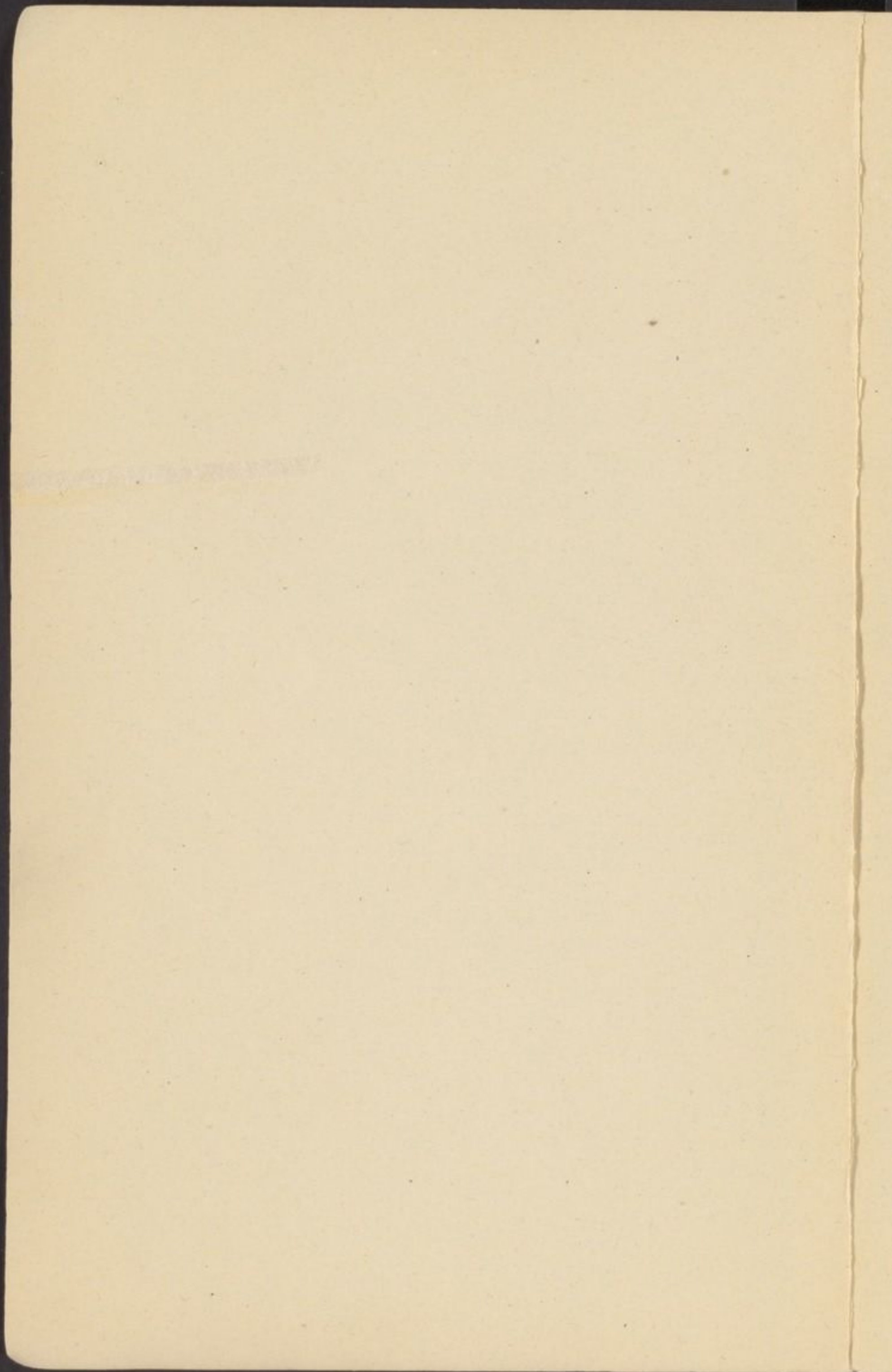
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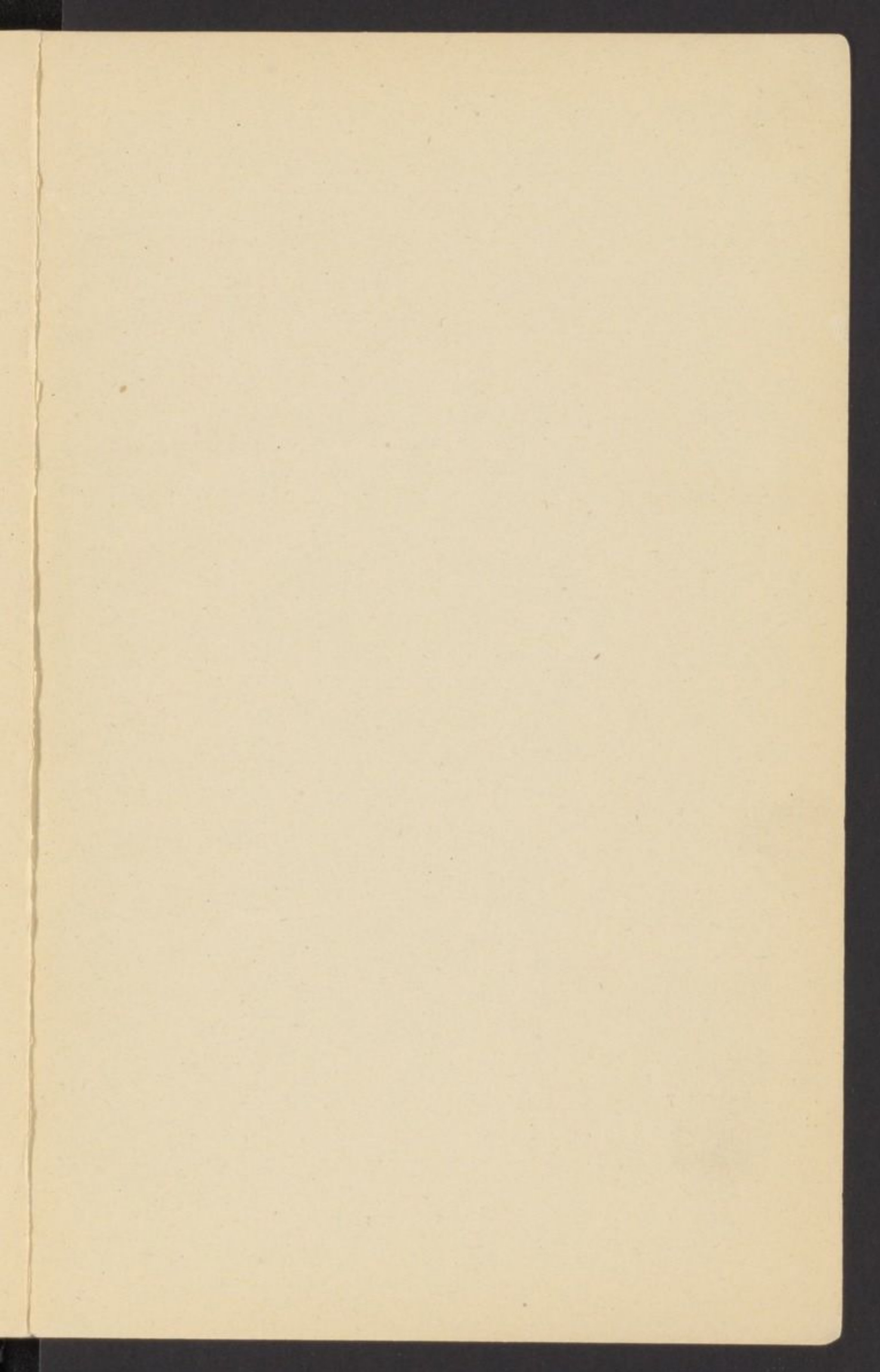


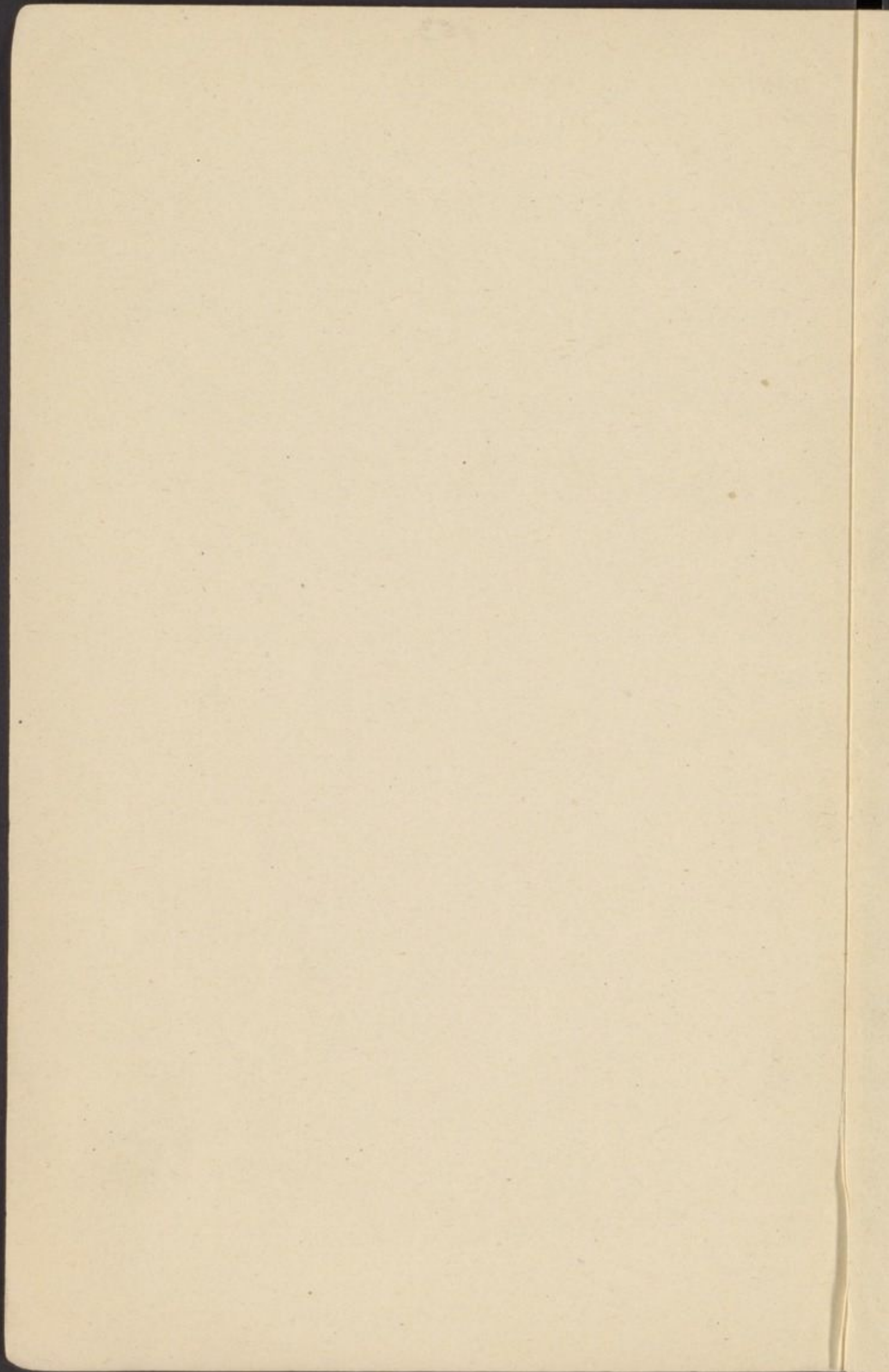
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HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 162

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EDITORIAL NOTE

IN the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous inquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics, and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes ; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense ; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

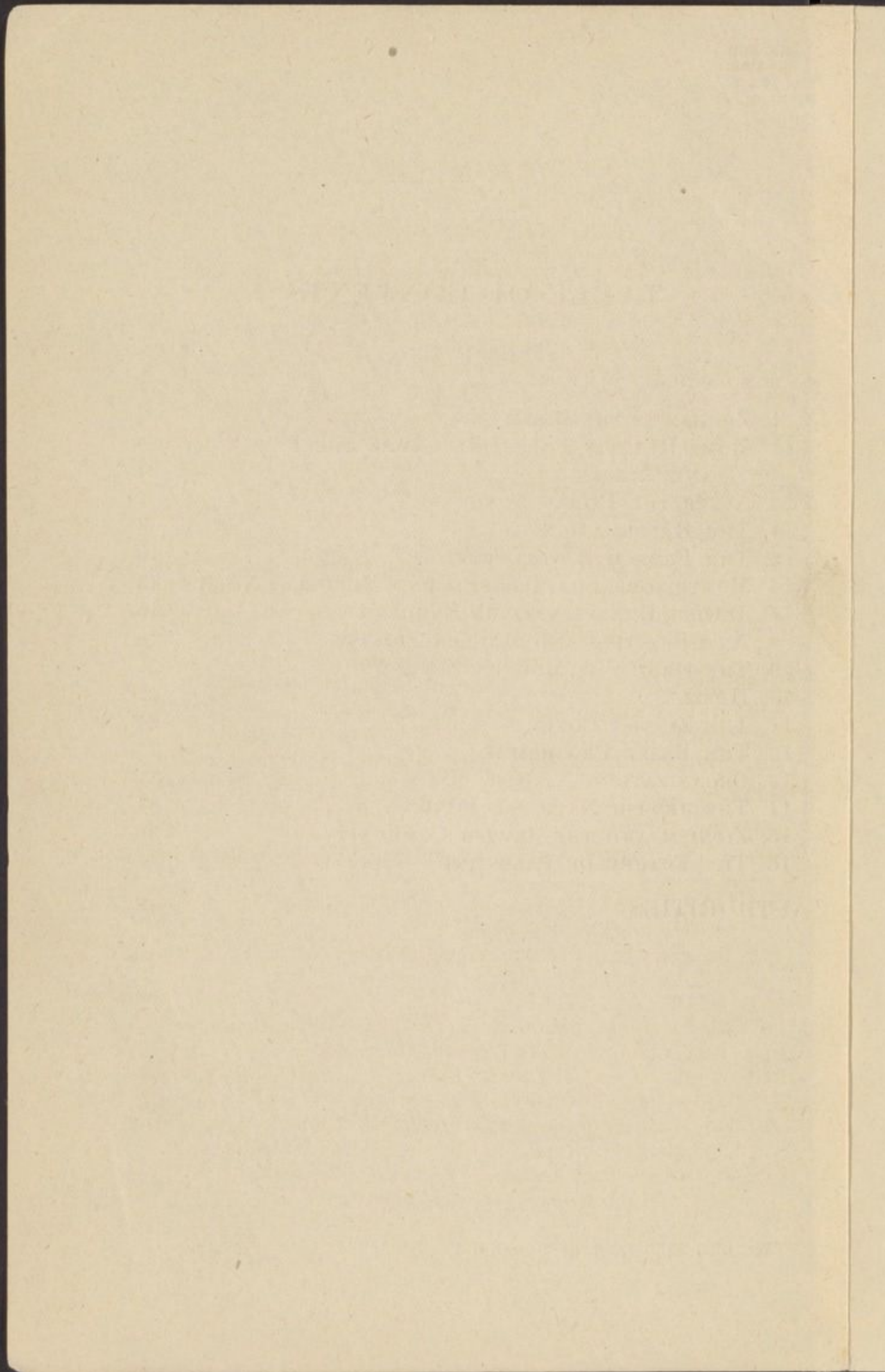
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January 1920.

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ZIONISM

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 720 B. C. Ten Tribes transplanted by Sargon.
606-588 B. C. Remaining two Tribes exiled to Babylon.
536 B. C. Cyrus sends Jews back to Jerusalem.
175 B. C. Maccabean rebellion.
70 A. D. Destruction of the Temple.
1563. Joseph Nasi colonizes Tiberias.
Jews from Spain and Portugal at Safed.
1799. Napoleon promises to give the Holy Land to the Jews.
1800-6. Pamphlets by Bickeno, Witherby, and Mayer.
1827. Sir Moses Montefiore's first visit to Palestine.
1838. Lord Shaftesbury suggests to Palmerston the settlement of the Jews in Palestine.
1843. The Association for Promoting Jewish Settlements in Palestine (afterwards the Palestine Colonization Fund).
1843. The Society for the Promotion of Jewish Agricultural Labour in the Holy Land.
1874. Sir Moses Montefiore's seventh and last visit.
1878. The Anti-Semitic movement begins in Germany.
1880. Anti-Jewish pogroms begin in Russia.
1882. Pinsker's pamphlet, *Auto-Emancipation*, leads to the foundation of the 'Chovevi Zion' (Lovers of Zion).
c. 1888. Baron Edmond de Rothschild begins to establish agricultural colonies in Palestine.
1896. Theodor Herzl's pamphlet, *A Jewish State*.
1897. First Zionist Congress at Basle. The Basle Programme drawn up.
1901. Abdul Hamid refuses to grant a charter for a Jewish settlement in Palestine.
1903. Joseph Chamberlain offers territory in Uganda to the Zionists.
1904. Death of Herzl.
1905. The Uganda offer is declined by the Seventh Congress.
1913. Eleventh and latest Zionist Congress.
1917. Declaration by David Alexander and Claude Montefiore on a Jewish National State.
1917. Mr. Balfour promises to facilitate 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people'.
1918. Conquest of Palestine by General Allenby.
Zionist Commission sent to Palestine.

§ 1. ZIONISM IN THE BIBLE

A ZIONIST is something more than an 'advocate of colonizing of Palestine by modern Jews' as he is defined in the Oxford dictionary. Whether he looks forward to a 'political' or to a merely 'cultural' Jewish occupation of Palestine, whether he is himself religious or non-religious, or even anti-religious, he has been imbued by the history of his race with a passionate love of the Zion of Scripture; and from this common sentiment Zionism draws its best energy.

Though it is less than twenty-five years since Theodor Herzl in his *Jewish State* suggested Zionism as a solution of the Jewish question, it is also the oldest nationalist movement in history. The earliest books of the Bible make Palestine the rallying-point of Israel and the Nations. Moses, Isaiah, Malachi, all preached the love of the Holy Land. The Zionism of the Bible is far anterior to the exile of Israel—even the first exile. It dates back to the prehistoric days of Israel in Egypt; and Moses was the first Zionist. The Promised Land of the Patriarchs is the country where 'I will make of thee a great nation . . . and I will bless them that bless thee . . . and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed'.¹ Jacob is to be brought back to this land, this fruitful land of 'the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine'.² During the Exodus, Moses warns his people that, when their children 'walk contrary', God will 'bring the land into desolation, and . . . scatter them among the nations . . . And yet for all that . . . will remember the covenant of their ancestors' and restore them.³

The dispersion of Israel among the nations was long anterior even to the destruction of the first Temple; its literature is not limited to the Bible and the Hebrew Prayer Book, nor its history to Palestine. Much of the yearning for Palestine in the Psalms and elsewhere is not the lament of the exile or captive, but the expres-

¹ Genesis xii. 2, 3.

² Ibid. xxvii. 28.

³ Leviticus xxvi. 21, 32, 33, 44, 45.

sion of the emotion of the self-banished trader and colonist. In 720 B. C. the Assyrians under Sargon conquered the Ten Tribes and transplanted them eastwards to the Far East, to Armenia, Persia, Afghanistan, perhaps to India, China, and Japan. Joel, Micah, and Hosea prophesied in those times and predicted that 'many nations shall come and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth out of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.¹ . . . Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob, and the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old.'² 'Be glad then, ye children of Zion . . . the floors shall be full of wheat, and the vats shall overflow with wine and oil.'³

'I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them. And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be plucked up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord.'⁴

Isaiah (750-695 B. C.), in whom, of all the prophets, the union of the real with the ideal is most clearly marked, is essentially Messianic. The earlier chapters reflect the world war of the time, Assyria at its zenith, Babylon becoming its menace, Egypt, Tyre, and Syria doomed. But 'the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, . . . from Assyria, and from Egypt, . . . and from the islands of the sea. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth.'⁵ The later chapters of the book attributed to Isaiah deal with the conditions towards the close of the Babylonian Captivity a couple of centuries later, but they proclaim even more triumphantly the Restoration

¹ Micah iv. 2.

² Ibid. vii. 20.

³ Joel ii. 23, 24.

⁴ Amos ix. 14-15.

⁵ Isaiah xi. 11-12.

of Israel. 'Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh . . . And they shall call them, The holy people, The redeemed of the Lord: and thou shalt be called, Sought out, A City not forsaken.¹ . . . And ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.² . . . And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem.'³ 'For the Lord shall comfort Zion: he will comfort all her waste places; and he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein.'⁴ The conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar led to a further deportation; and many of the remaining two tribes were exiled to Babylon in three batches in 606, 599, and 588. The number of actual exiles does not seem to have been very large, but it included 'all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land.'⁵ Most went eastward to Mesopotamia with Jeremiah and Baruch and Ezekiel, but some fled southward to Egypt.

After seventy years, a partial return took place. The resettlement of Palestine, started by Cyrus and continued by Darius, is of peculiar interest at the present time.

§ 2. HOME RULE IN PALESTINE UNDER THE PERSIANS AND GREEKS

The Persian Empire, towards the end of the sixth century B. C., was mighty and enlightened, and therefore tolerant. The return from Babylon was never more than partial; the Persian Jews were prosperous and contented, and many of them highly placed. Cyrus in 536 called upon God's people—'his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord . . . And whoso-

¹ Isaiah lxii. 11-12.

² Ibid. lxvi. 13.

³ Ibid. lxvi. 20.

⁴ Ibid. li. 3.

⁵ 2 Kings xxiv. 10-16.

ever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold'.¹ In response to the call, 42,000 Jews under Zerubbabel and Jeshua the High Priest returned from captivity. In the reign of Darius a second batch under Haggai, the prophet, returned in 519, when the second Temple was built; a third of some 1,500, in the reign of Artaxerxes in 458, under Ezra; and a fourth in 445, under Nehemiah. A continuation of Nehemiah's narrative can be traced in the Elephantine papyri down to 419 and perhaps later. These remarkable documents show the relations between the Jews who had returned to Zion and those of the Diaspora, who had remained in the lands of their birth and their civil allegiance.

The colonists, who had rebuilt the Temple and deemed it necessary to fortify Jerusalem, found themselves in a minority. They had to deal with the local intrigues of the Samaritan opposition; and the difficulties they had to contend with are set forth by Haggai and Zechariah, who comforted the settlers when they were discouraged. Nehemiah was a Persian official, and his interest had been aroused by the sad reports concerning the Jews who had returned to Jerusalem, how they were 'in great affliction and reproach: the wall of Jerusalem also is broken down'.² He persuaded Artaxerxes to send him 'unto Judah, unto the city of my fathers' sepulchres, that I may build it'.³ He succeeded in rebuilding Jerusalem, despite the intrigues and even the armed force of the local Persian officials, and especially of the Samaritans. Like Ezra, his predecessor, he had to complain of the spiritual indifference of his co-religionists; and he instituted reforms. The Samaritan opposition was routed, and, notwithstanding the persistence of a certain amount of intermarriage,⁴ never again recovered its influence in Jerusalem, though the erection of a temple at Elephantine seems to point to some sort of compromise between Jew and Samaritan in Egypt.

¹ Ezra i. 3-4.

³ Ibid. ii. 5.

² Nehemiah i. 3.

⁴ Ibid. xiii. 3.

Alexander the Great, in his conquests, spared Jerusalem and much favoured the Jews; and, when he founded Alexandria in 332, many Jews settled there. These Egyptian Jews developed a high culture of their own and gradually became contented with Ptolemaic and Roman rule. But the Palestinians were stauncher; and when, in 175 B. C., Antiochus Epiphanes endeavoured to precipitate their hellenization, the Maccabean rebellion enabled the Jews to recover their independence and become independent for a couple of centuries. To this period the latter part of Zechariah refers. The Diaspora, who had emigrated, will be brought back again out of Egypt and Assyria into the land of Gilead and Lebanon.¹

Yet, even in its most prosperous time, Palestine was peopled by only a minority of the Jews. Most of them spread into Galilee, Syria, Egypt, and beyond the seas, so that in the second century B. C. the Jewish Sibyl says of the Diaspora, 'Every land is full of thee and every sea', and Strabo, Philo, Seneca, and the author of the Acts of the Apostles prove that the Jewish race was disseminated in their time over the whole of the civilized world. Philo says that in Egypt alone there were a million Jews, an eighth of the population.

The Maccabeans preserved the independence of Palestine, in spite of the growing imperialism of Rome, until Pompey took Jerusalem in B. C. 63. After this date the local rulers of the Idumaeian dynasty (established by Herod in 37 B. C.) were always in the position of 'client-kings' under the Roman government. Judaea itself became under Augustus a 'second-class' Roman province. Internal dissensions produced the insurrection which ended with the destruction of the Temple in 70 A. D. Under Hadrian, A. D. 130, the Jews again rebelled. Jerusalem was destroyed and rebuilt by the Emperor as a Roman colony under the name Aelia Capitolina. No Jews were allowed to reside in it. Thus all hopes of Jewish independence were for the time destroyed.

¹ Zech. x. 10.

§ 3. AFTER THE ROMAN CONQUEST

The Romans planted colonies in Palestine with the express intention of preventing the political regeneration of the Jew. But, excluded from Palestine, the Jews strove in the first place to establish, upon the ruins of Hellenism, actual commonwealths in Cyrene, Cyprus, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. There were repeated insurrections of the Jews under several Roman emperors. In the fourth century the Emperor Julian actually contemplated restoring Palestine to the Jews. The passionate longing for Palestine has always remained a Jewish characteristic. It permeates the Apocrypha and writings of the Rabbis. It is the *leitmotif* of the Jewish national fasts and the Hebrew Prayer Book. Every Jewish sermon and every Talmudic discussion, every occasional prayer, ended with the stock formula, 'May the redeemer come unto Zion!' Daily the Jews pray, 'O bring us in peace from the four corners of the earth, and make us to go upright to our land'.

In the solemn and ancient liturgy of the Day of Atonement, to this very day, the Jews all over the world pray that the redemption may succeed a League of Nations:

Now, therefore, O Lord our God, impose thine awe upon all thy works . . . that all creatures may fear thee . . . that they may all form a single league to do thy work with a perfect heart. . . .

Give then glory, O Lord, unto thy people, praise to them that fear thee, hope to them that seek thee, and free speech to them that wait for thee, joy to thy land, gladness to thy city, a flourishing horn unto David thy servant, and a clear shining light unto the son of Jesse, thine anointed, speedily in our days.

Then shall the just also see and be glad . . . while all wickedness shall be wholly consumed like smoke, when thou makest the dominion of arrogance to pass away from the earth.

And thou, O Lord, shalt reign, thou alone, over all thy works on Mount Zion, the dwelling-place of thy glory, and in Jerusalem, thy holy city.

Throughout Christian times the Jews have clung to the firm belief in their ultimate return to the Holy Land. Such belief has induced them to lend credence to pseudo-Messiahs, who claimed to be their deliverers appointed to bring about the promised Messianic Kingdom. Some of these were impostors, others self-deluded. Josephus tells of those in the first century; others were Bar Kokba under Hadrian, Moses of Crete in 446, Serenus, a Syrian in the eighth century, David Alroy of Bagdad (the hero of Disraeli's novel of that name) in the twelfth, Abulafia of Messina in 1299, Asher Lemlein of Istria in 1502, David Reubeni of Cranganore, India, in 1524, and Sabbatai Zevi of Smyrna in 1666. Sabbatai's adventures created a tremendous stir in western Europe; and, although he eventually became an apostate to Islam, he had a line of successors in whom the strange sect of Dunmeh, who live in Salonika, continue to believe. In fact there have been, throughout the centuries, periodic Zionist agitations which have convulsed Jewry; and repeated failures have but strengthened its faith in the final restoration.

§ 4. THE REFORMATION

The invention of printing, the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, the translation of the Bible, and the Reformation were great events which acted and reacted on Jew and non-Jew alike. The work of the Reformers was furthered by the Rabbis, who helped and taught the Bible translators and Protestant Reformers. With the spread of the Reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religious enthusiasm, coupled with mysticism of an extravagant type, became increasingly prevalent in England, Holland, Denmark, and Germany.

The leading Protestant theologians were on terms of intimacy with Jewish scholars, and searched the Hebrew scriptures with great care and zeal. Sects such as the Anabaptists and Independents became more and more Jewish in their line of thought. . . . Books were written with a view to reconcile the Jewish

and Christian beliefs as to the Messiah. At the time of the return of the Jews to England (1655), several Christians declared themselves to be Messiahs of the Jewish nation and imagined a Jewish kingdom of which they were to be the King. Many kept the Jewish seventh day Sabbath, and we are told of certain Quakers called Sabbatharii, that they were so pious that they killed a cat for eating a mouse on Saturday. Tovey tells us that the Anti-Semites of the time declared that the Jews saw in Cromwell their Messiah.¹

This Messianic extravagance had its counterpart among the Jews in a renewed belief in quite a series of pseudo-Messiahs; but these, instead of being merely unsuccessful leaders of Jewish rebels against their oppressors, were now men who numbered distinguished Gentiles among their friends or followers and had diplomatic relations with the princes of their time. Their resistless call to their adherents was the announcement that they would bring Israel back to the Promised Land. Nor was it only mystics or impostors that cherished this hope. Thus Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos, a Turkish statesman, originally a *maranno* fugitive from Portugal, persuaded Sultan Soliman II in 1563 to give him Tiberias and the neighbourhood for colonization by the Jews.² He introduced the mulberry and culture of silk into Palestine, and started a trade in cloth with Venice. He invited all persecuted Jews, especially in the Papal States, to become farmers or artisans in the new Jewish community. And, although his particular colony had no great success, it was undoubtedly the first practical step to the repopulation of Palestine by the Jew.

Side by side with those colonists, there came to northern Palestine a number of mystics and legists impelled by a religious craving, and seeking to forget the horrors of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal. Schechter, in his *Studies in Judaism*,³ paints

¹ L. Simon, *Aspects of the Hebrew Genius* [Introduction by E. N. Adler, xix]. London, 1910.

² E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans l'Orient*, II. p. 736. Paris, 1850.

³ Second Series, p. 202.

a vivid picture of these pilgrim fathers in a chapter entitled 'Safed in the Sixteenth Century'. He translates the words of one of the greatest of them, Rabbi Joseph Caro :

After nearly fifteen hundred years of living in the exile and persecution, God remembered unto his people his covenant with their fathers, and brought them back from their captivity, one of a city and two of a family, from the corners of the earth to the land of glory, and they settled in the city of Safed, the desire of all lands.

Safed was preferred to Jerusalem because both the Jews and the Turks of Jerusalem were at the time more exacting and even hostile to alien immigrants. The Jewish community in Safed soon grew to over a thousand families and exceeded that of Jerusalem; and its spiritual wealth—for it was famous for its Kabbalists—was a greater magnet than the importance of its wool trade. The distinction between the business or agricultural Jew and the scholar or saint, who cares nothing for material gain, and is satisfied with his share of the *Halukah* provided by the charitable Jews of Europe and America, has subsisted to this very day.

§ 5. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In the eighteenth century imaginative and emotional religion tended to be superseded or overshadowed by Rationalism. Jews were as 'enlightened' as Gentiles; and the scientific movement of the time found expression in the French Revolution. Montesquieu, the philosopher, commenced the enfranchisement of the Jew; Mirabeau, the patriot, carried it on; and Napoleon completed it. It was this that led to the eventual emancipation of the Jews of western Europe and a renaissance of Jewish literature under Mendelssohn. The Mendelssohnian school brought about a great linguistic change. The vernacular took the place of Hebrew. The Bible first, and then text-books of science and art, history and geography, poetry, and even novels, were written in German but printed

in Hebrew letters, so that the Jew of the time, illiterate except as to Hebrew, should be able to read them. But the Mendelssohnians were also assimilationists, and thus introduced the only vital change into Judaism since the conquest of Jerusalem by the Romans. Till their day, no Jew had doubted that the dispersion was only temporary and 'the restoration of the national polity might be expected at any moment'; he had looked upon himself as a temporary settler in the land where he happened to live, and indeed, at any rate in Germany, he had been physically separated by the walls of his Ghetto from the society and culture of the non-Jew. Many Jews, especially in Germany, carried away by the glamour of their new citizenship, left the fold altogether. It was the age of *Massentaufen* (baptisms *en masse*). Others abandoned their tribal nationalism and went so far as to eliminate from the prayer book of 'reform' Judaism all references to the hope of a return to the Holy Land and to substitute for a Messiah belief in an ideal Messianic destiny of the spirit common to Israel and mankind. But the mass of Jewry has remained true to its Prayer Book and its Bible. Nevertheless, the Jews in the first half of the nineteenth century were, perhaps, less concerned with Palestine than were non-Jews. The Jewish problem of the day seemed to be in process of solution. Little or nothing was to be heard even of schemes for colonizing Jews outside Palestine. Such had formerly advocated Jewish settlements on the 'Wild Coast' (1654), in the West Indies (1659), and in South America (1749)—the last under the sovereignty of Marshal de Saxe. The colonial scheme of Mordecai Noah of Philadelphia (1785-1851) was made memorable by the support given to it by President Adams.

Mendelssohn himself was hardly an assimilationist. In 1770, consulted as to a scheme for the resettlement of Jews in Palestine, he opposed such an idea only because the Jews were too scattered and feeble, the expense would be too great, and the Powers would never consent. Napoleon in 1799, when on his Syrian

campaign, issued a proclamation to the Jews, calling upon them to join his army, and promising to give them the Holy Land. This campaign failed, but in 1807 Napoleon again proposed a solution of the Jewish question—from the opposite angle—by summoning the *Sanhedrin*, which was to regulate Jewish custom and fit the Jews for French nationality.

Christians during this period were less lukewarm; and some there were who, believing the Biblical promises, sought to tempt the Jews back to the land of their fathers, generally with the expectation, express or implied, of their ultimate conversion to Christianity. Thus in 1806 a pamphlet¹ addressed to the Jews, after an examination of the prophecies under both Christian and Jewish dispensations, proceeds, 'As there is every reason to suppose that the restoration of the Jews is nigh at hand, I shall now conclude this address by congratulating them on the happy prospect before them in the beautiful language of Ezekiel', and so forth. Bickeno's 'Restoration of the Jews—the Crisis of all Nations' appeared in 1800, and Witherby's 'Attempt to Remove Prejudices concerning the Jewish Nation' in 1804, the latter being a plea both for the Jews' restoration to Palestine, and for their civil equality outside Palestine.

Once admitted to the society of the Gentile, as a citizen with all civil rights, the Jew could not help taking his place in literature and even in general politics. Cumberland's 'Jew' is no longer the crafty and cruel Shylock of dramatic tradition, but a good-hearted philanthropist, benevolent though rich. Byron's 'Hebrew Melodies' bewail the homelessness of Israel. The heroine of Scott's *Ivanhoe* is a Jewess, a perfect heroine of romance. Disraeli reflects—perhaps also deflects—the views of his time and his own impressions of a three years' visit to the East (1830–1) when he makes out of his aristocratic hero 'Tancred' a sort of prototype of Herzl, who tries to realize the Messianic ideal of and in Palestine.

¹ L. Mayer, *Restoration of the Jews*, 3rd ed. London, 1806.

§ 6. MONTEFIORE, SHAFTESBURY, AND MORDECAI NOAH

In 1827 the famous centenarian Sir Moses Montefiore paid the first of his seven pilgrimages to Palestine. His wife's diary pictures the ruin and abject misery produced by tyranny and misrule, but ends with a note of hope for the 'return to Zion with songs'. The conquest of Syria by Mehemet Ali in 1832 caused Jew and Gentile to turn their thoughts to Palestine. Many Jews flocked thither, and we are told of 30,000 Polish Jews who petitioned Tsar Nicholas to be allowed 'to proceed to Palestine in a body and await there during three years the coming of the Messiah'. Before 1840 there were supposed to be forty thousand Jews settled, especially in the four 'holy' cities, Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias, mostly poor and dependent on their richer brethren in Europe for support. In 1838 Sir Moses paid his second visit with the special object of submitting to Mehemet Ali a scheme for Jewish colonization in Syria. During this journey he investigated the prospects of local agriculture.¹ After nine years, Mehemet Ali was ousted from Syria, which was restored to the Porte, largely owing to the armed intervention of Great Britain.

Already in 1838, Lord Shaftesbury² was 'anxious about the hopes and destinies of the Jewish people. Everything seems ripe for their return to Palestine.' He prepared a memorandum for the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, suggesting their settlement there under the guarantee of the Great Powers. These views he elaborated in an anonymous article in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1839. Palmerston was not unfriendly, but there was no Jewish organization capable of handling so big a matter, and so the ambitious project

¹ The Appendix to Lady Montefiore's *Notes from a Journal* (London, 1844) contains Extracts from Reports, Letters, and Addresses on Agriculture in the Holy Land presented to Sir Moses during his sojourn there.

² Hodder's *Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, i. 310, quoted by N. Sokolov in his work, *The History of Zionism* (2 vols., 1919.).

was whittled down to the official protection by England of Jews in the East. And yet this concession has proved by no means insignificant, for it is the logical precursor of Mr. Balfour's Declaration of November 1917.

The American Mordecai Noah had been reluctantly obliged to abandon his scheme for the constitution of a Jewish colony in the State of New York, and had gravitated towards Palestine. He agreed with a 'continental Jew' who in 1844 wrote to the *Voice of Jacob*, 'We would willingly emigrate, we would go to America, to Texas, but most willingly to Palestine under English protection'.

Noah had become a warm advocate of the restoration of Israel to Palestine when in October 1844 he delivered an eloquent address in New York, in which he urged his countrymen that it was the duty of Christians to help the Jews to regain the land of their fathers. The *Spectator* in 1845 (quoted in the *Voice of Jacob* of August 1, 1845) supports the scheme in the following terms :

The enterprise which seems to be laying strong hold of the imaginations of a large portion of the European Jews appears at first sight feasible enough. The population of Syria has been reduced to a tithe of what the country could easily support ; whole districts are uninhabited. With the permission of the Ottoman Government, the Jews wishing to colonize in Palestine could easily find lands. The old constitutional mode of government and taxation in Turkey favours the formation of a number of agricultural settlements. The Divan declares how much tribute each village or district has to pay, leaving the principal inhabitants to apportion the contribution of each individual and holding them responsible for the whole. The same parties exercise the internal police of their community, subject to the surveillance of the higher authorities. The institutions of the Ottoman Empire would afford the Jewish colonists large scope of local self-government. Were a number of Jewish agricultural settlements established at moderate distances from each other, the superior intelligence, industry, and wealth of their members would lend them importance and their numbers and union deter alien tribes from aggression. Secure themselves, they would as it were inoculate the population of Syria with steady industrious habits. The Ottoman Govern-

ment would be a gainer every way, were it to invite the immigration of such colonists by granting them considerable immunities. At present it cannot preserve order in Syria; that Pashalic costs money instead of yielding tribute. The Jews would form the nucleus of an industrious, orderly population, consisting of men who have been trained to live as citizens—who know the value of domestic peace assured by laws—and are not likely to become the tools of ambitious Pashas aspiring to independence. In the present temper of the Jews, a large body of immigrants might apparently be attracted to Palestine, were the Ottoman Government to enter into a definite contract with them and induce England—or a Committee of European Powers—to become guarantees for its observance.

The British public was intensely sympathetic to the idea of Palestine for the Jews. *The Times* of March 9, 1840, reported an earlier memorandum to the Powers suggesting the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. *The Times* of August 26 printed this memorandum in full, together with encouraging replies from most of the sovereigns addressed. It also contained a letter by 'An English Christian' appealing to the British people to buy Palestine for the Jews.

Henry Hawkes, on the occasion of the Chief Rabbi Herschel's death in 1842, preached a sermon on the *Position of the Jews*, 'speaking comfortably to Jerusalem' and claiming for them equal rights of citizenship.

The time is ripe: no ungenerous policy, no exclusive irreligion can stand against you. There is a moral power, accumulated, ever more accumulating, that will work with you in the bosom of our own Christian nation, philanthropists the most mighty in divine energies. Let not our past injustice discourage you; we are ready for better things: work with us to their accomplishment.¹

Herschel himself had figured in 1838 in Henry Innes's 'Letter to the friends in Scotland of God's ancient people the Jews, including a correspondence with Dr. Herschel the Chief Rabbi of the Jewish Synagogues in London'. Innes believed in 'Israel's

¹ *Position of the Jews*. A Sermon, by Henry Hawkes (London, 1843).

return from his dispersions', but imagined that conversion to Christianity was the condition precedent.

In 1844 a clergyman named Crybbalt convened a meeting in the Hanover Square Rooms for the formation of the "British and Foreign Society for promoting the Restoration of the Jewish Nation to Palestine"; another clergyman, named Bradshaw, in *A Tract for the Times*, asked Parliament to grant four millions if the churches collected one million for such restoration. Next year E. L. Mitford, of the Ceylon Civil Service, in 'An Appeal on behalf of the Jewish nation, in connexion with British Policy in the Levant', asked for their re-establishment in Palestine 'as a protected state, under the guardianship of Great Britain', with a view to 'their final establishment as an independent state'. In 1845 Colonel George Gawler, founder and second Governor of South Australia, advised 'the foundation of the most important colony that the world will perhaps ever witness' in his 'Tranquillization of Syria and the East. Observations and Practical Suggestions in furtherance of the Establishment of Jewish Colonies in Palestine; the most sober and sensible remedy for the miseries of Asiatic Turkey'. In 1849 he accompanied Montefiore to Palestine, and in 1853 renewed his proposals that Jewish settlements there should be promoted by England, which 'does most urgently need the shortest and safest lines of communications. . . . Egypt and Syria stand in intimate connexion. A foreign hostile power mighty in either would soon endanger British trade.'¹

§ 7. JEWISH EMANCIPATION IN ENGLAND

Not till after a generation of heated controversy did even England admit Jews to Parliament. In this controversy Macaulay took a leading part. His

¹ Some of these facts are condensed from Sokolov's *History of Zionism*, and A. M. Hyamson's *British Projects for the Restoration of Jews to Palestine*, published in the twenty-sixth publication of the American Jewish Historical Society (1918).

maiden speech, delivered in the House of Commons in 1830, was in favour of Grant's Bill for the Removal of Jewish Disabilities. 'On every principle of moral obligation', he said, 'the Jew has a right to political power.' His famous essay on the 'Civil Disabilities of the Jews' appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* of January 1831. His argument against the idea that Jewish Nationalism unfits the Jews for complete civil rights outside Palestine is worth quoting.

But it is said, the Scriptures declare that the Jews are to be restored to their own country; and the whole nation looks forward to that restoration. They are therefore not so deeply interested as others in the prosperity of England. It is not their home, but merely the place of their sojourn, the house of their bondage. This argument, which first appeared in *The Times* newspaper¹ . . . belongs to a class of sophisms by which the most hateful persecutions may easily be justified. To charge men with practical consequences which they themselves deny is disingenuous in controversy; it is atrocious in government. . . . People are now reasoning about the Jews as our fathers reasoned about the Papists. . . . The Christian believes, as well as the Jew, that at some future period the present order of things will come to an end. Nay, many Christians believe that the Messiah will shortly establish a kingdom on the earth. . . . Now wherein does this doctrine differ, as far as its political tendency is concerned, from the doctrine of the Jew? If a Jew is unfit to legislate for us because he believes that he or his remote descendants will be removed to Palestine, can we safely open the House of Commons to a fifth monarchy man, who expects that before this generation shall pass away, all the kingdoms of the earth will be swallowed up in one divine empire?

Nearly thirty years elapsed before Jewish emancipation in England was accomplished,² but during that period Macaulay's essay undoubtedly played a great part in converting public opinion. In 1847 the *Quarterly Review* published an article setting forth the case against the Jewish claim, but the whole argument is directed towards rebutting that of the essay. The

¹ May 3, 1830.

² On July 26, 1858, Baron Lionel de Rothschild took his seat in due form in the House of Commons.

advocates of emancipation frankly confessed their belief that, once given equal civil rights, the Jews would soon be completely assimilated.

About this time various institutions were founded in connexion with Palestine which showed the lively interest of the public. Such were—

The Association for Promoting Jewish Settlements in Palestine (1843), afterwards the Palestine Colonization Fund;

The Society for the Promotion of Jewish Agricultural Labour in the Holy Land (1843);

The Palestine Society;

The Syria Society;

The Syrian Improvement Committee (before 1863);

The Jerusalem Water Relief Society (1864);

The Palestine Exploration Fund (1865), and similar Societies in France, Germany, and Russia.

Of some of these committees Montefiore was a member; and, though some Zionists have been inclined to look upon him as an opposing influence, as the protagonist of the philanthropic school, there can be no doubt that in the nineteenth century Palestine owed most to him for the beginnings of its colonization. Cobbett's taunt that 'the Israelite is never seen to take a spade in his hand' had made a deep impression upon him, and he determined to do his best to encourage agriculture and handicrafts among his brethren, especially in Palestine. Colonel Churchill wished to re-establish a Jewish kingdom in Palestine. Montefiore, though he threw cold water on the idea on the ground that the times were not ripe, entrusted the Colonel on his return to the East with a fund or the encouragement of thrift among the Jews of the Holy Land; he sent a printing-press to Jerusalem, started a linen factory, and supplied various committees there with agricultural implements and even with cattle. In 1849 Colonel Gawler accompanied him on another visit to the Holy Land. In 1854 he and Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler appealed to the Jews of England for funds to relieve distress in Palestine due

to the failure of the harvest and the crisis caused by the Crimean War. The Holy Land Relief Fund then constituted is still in existence. Having raised upwards of £20,000 and having also just received a legacy of \$50,000 for the benefit of Palestine Jews from Judah Touro of New Orleans, Sir Moses went out again to Palestine in May 1855. On his way he obtained from the Sultan a firman permitting the purchase of land, and bought land at Jaffa and Jerusalem on which he planted gardens, erected a windmill, opened a girls' school, and established agricultural colonies at Safed and Tiberias. In 1874 correspondence between Montefiore, Colonel Gawler's son, the Haham Bashi of Jerusalem, and many of the local Jews, was published by the Jewish Board of Deputies 'on the Promotion of Agriculture and other Industrial Pursuits' in the Holy Land; and in the same year Sir Moses made his seventh, and last, pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He suggested sanitary improvements, housing of the working classes in garden cities where olive-trees, vines, and vegetables should be grown, and loan societies to enable colonists to purchase land; and he bade them 'begin at once'. The Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Committee, founded in 1878 to commemorate his centenary, adopted some of these suggestions; and the neat little houses outside the Jaffa gate have been erected by building societies which it constituted. Montefiore's noble life kindled the imagination of his co-religionists throughout the world, created quite a literature concerning him in many languages, and, although the glamour attached to his activities is now somewhat out of fashion among Zionists, undoubtedly led to an ever-increasing faith in Palestine as the country for the Jewish colonist. In 1876 George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* appeared—a famous novel in which both emancipation and nationalism are claimed for the Jew. Mordecai is the prophet of the hope that 'our race shall have an organic centre, a heart and brain to watch and guide and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defence in the court of nations'.

§ 8. ANTI-SEMITISM AND MODERN ZIONISM

But Zionism would never have attained its present overwhelming grasp of the minds and hopes of the vast majority of Jewry but for the outbreak of Anti-Semitism and the clouding of the prospects of Jews, alike emancipated, half-emancipated, and not emancipated at all.

The beginning of the nineteenth century, as has been seen, was still influenced by the liberal ideas of the Revolution. Prejudice there was against the Jew, but it was merely incidental. In 1848 the Continental Jew fought for freedom with all his heart and soul. Even in the three Prussian Wars, which culminated in Sedan and the foundation of the German Empire, Jews had shed their blood for their fatherland and were not subjected to deliberate and organized persecution and attack. But 1870 turned the Prussian heads. Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-96), a Saxon renegade to Prussia, became the chief panegyrist of the House of Hohenzollern and the militarism for which it stood. In his chair at the University of Berlin and in the Reichstag he pleaded eloquently for the narrowest German nationalism. He vehemently supported the Government in its attacks upon the Socialists and Poles, upon the Catholics and the Jews. The Jews have had to suffer from Anti-Semitism ever since 1878; and Treitschke was one of the few men of eminence who gave his support to the attacks upon them which began in that year.

The virus soon spread throughout Europe. In the East it led to the pogroms in Russia which started in 1880 and have recurred about every ten years. In England, Goldwin Smith raised the question 'Can Jews be patriots?' in 1878; then ensued a series of articles in which Hermann Adler was the apologist. The contagion spread a little later even to liberal France, where, in 1886, Drumont wrote *La France Juive*, preached that all French misfortunes were due to the Machiavellian Jew, and,

to keep the ball rolling, founded *La Libre Parole*. Drumont is the father of the Anti-Semitism of the Dreyfus trial of 1898.

A whole literature arose around Anti-Semitism in general and the Dreyfus trial in particular. The Jews did not confine themselves to apologetic propaganda. Their leaders, in the more enlightened countries of the West, formed institutions with the express object of protecting their less-favoured co-religionists from oppression and injustice. But above all 'Zionism' came into being as a positive remedy for the alleged homelessness of the disfranchised Jew. The term appears to have been first used in 1886, but was popularized by Herzl ten years later.

§ 9. THE ORIGIN OF MODERN ZIONISM

Already in 1862, Moses Hess, one of the early leaders of the Social Democratic movement in Germany, wrote a book, *Rom und Jerusalem*, in which he discussed the Jewish problem. Persecution of the Jew throughout the world had convinced him that Jews were likely to remain strangers wherever they dwelt, that emancipation was difficult to reconcile with Jewish national feeling, and that a Jewish Nationality was the only solution of the problem. But the views of Hess fell upon deaf ears among Western Jewry; and emancipation still appeared to them the preferable solution.

Dr. Leon Pinsker of Odessa, in a pamphlet, *Auto-Emancipation*, published in 1882 and translated into Hebrew and most of the European languages, urged that Jews must help themselves. Writing under the stress of the Russian pogroms he declared that 'neither miracles from above, nor the kindness of Gentiles, nor the progress of nationalism would solve the Jewish problem. They could only become a living nation by beginning to live as a nation and strive for the realization of their national aspirations. . . . A home must be found for oppressed Jews, especially Russian Jews.' His chief disciple, the well-known Hebrew writer and

philosopher, Asher Ginzberg, known as 'Ahad Ha'am' ('one of the people'), has, since 1889, suggested a rather more idealistic solution. Palestine, as a home for Jews, must also be a new moral centre for spiritual inspiration and guidance. His views have been adopted by large numbers of the Zionists themselves; and, indeed, he would probably now describe himself as a Zionist, though he does not see eye to eye with the bulk of the modern leaders of Zionism.

The Russian movement, 'Chovevi Zion' ('Lovers of Zion'), was undoubtedly inspired by Pinsker and Ginzberg, and gathered momentum and force in Odessa and southern Russia and the pale of Jewish settlement, whence it spread to western Europe.

In England it acquired considerable importance by reason of the position of its adherents and the enthusiasm of its chief, Col. A. E. Goldsmid. Its constitution was drafted by E. N. Adler and settled by the Right Hon. Arthur Cohen, Q.C., a nephew of Sir Moses Montefiore. Its objects were expressed to be:

- (a) To foster the national ideal in Israel.
- (b) To promote colonization of Palestine and neighbouring territories by Jews, by establishing new colonies, or assisting those already established.
- (c) To diffuse the knowledge of Hebrew as a living language.
- (d) To further the moral and material status of Israel.

Its organization took a somewhat military form, being governed by 'Head-quarters Tent' and various Local Tents in the metropolis, provinces, and colonies. The Head-quarters Tent was presided over by a Chief and each Local Tent by a Commander. For some years it published a quarterly magazine, *Palestine*, edited by Dr. S. A. Hirsch. In 1892 it began to purchase land in Palestine; but its international action was in the hands of a Central Committee at Paris, a Committee in Odessa, and an office at Jaffa for the purchase and sale of land and negotiation with the Turkish authorities for facilitating Jewish colonization. 'Chovevi Zion', though in the year 1897 it was administering half a dozen colonies, building agricultural dwellings,

subsidizing and assisting libraries and schools, never achieved more than a *succès d'estime*. Still, it undoubtedly paved the way for modern Zionism; and Herzl could not have achieved his phenomenal success if these 'Lovers of Zion' had not prepared the soil.

Meantime two individual Jews had, by their reasoned munificence, achieved far more than Montefiore in turning their co-religionists to agriculture. Baron Maurice Hirsch (1831-96) founded the Jewish Colonization Association (commonly known as 'Ica'), and endowed it with over ten millions sterling. Its original object was to relieve the oppressed Jews—primarily those of Russia and Rumania—by encouraging emigration to its colonies in the Argentine, Brazil, Canada, and the United States. The Baron, however, did not favour Palestine as a field for colonization, because he feared that Russia would become the predominant power there. Baron Edmond de Rothschild has for the last thirty years unostentatiously, but on a scientific basis, also devoted millions to the establishment of agricultural colonies exclusively in Palestine, and especially for viticulture, and he had succeeded before the war in putting his colonies on a self-supporting basis. The 'Ica' is administered by delegates of the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Alliance Israélite of Paris, and Jews of Frankfort, Berlin, and Brussels. A few years ago it undertook for Rothschild the management of his Palestine colonies, so that, although not a Zionist organization, it has great interests in the Holy Land.

§ 10. HERZL

Throughout the nineteenth century, Palestine had commanded the increasing attention of the Jews; but it lacked the vivifying touch of a genius who was to make it monopolize their hopes and ambitions.

Such a genius was Herzl, 'the tall figure with the black-bearded Assyrian head that drew all eyes'. He was the founder of the modern idea of Zionism, and in the brief space of ten years from the publication of

his *Jewish State* was able, by his fascinating personality, which impressed itself upon high and low, Jew and Gentile, Court circles and the proletariat of the Russian Ghetto, to bring the secular aspirations of Jewry into the sphere of practical politics. He gathered round him the philosopher, the student, the oppressed, the dissatisfied, and the enthusiast, into a sort of Cave of Adullam.

At first he was looked upon askance by the great bulk of Western Jews, who, in easy circumstances and sometimes in high positions, were well on the way to assimilation in the countries of their birth and adoption. Even in eastern Europe, ultra-orthodox Jews viewed his projects with disfavour, because they feared that his schemes were independent of religious ideals, and saw in him a political enthusiast but not a descendant of the prophets. They could not recognize in the courtly and well-spoken journalist anything approaching their traditional picture of a Messiah or even his precursor. Herzl's most famous saying was that the return to Zion would be preceded by the return to Judaism.

§ 11. THE ZIONIST CONGRESSES

Public interest in the movement was also kept alive and keenly stirred by the annual meeting of Zionist Congresses during the holiday season, and generally in Switzerland. These were attended by ever-increasing numbers of Jews from all parts of the world, and flattered both participants and spectators by their resemblance to the parliament of a constitutional State.

The first, second, and third were held at Basle in August 1897, 1898, and 1899. Mr. Sokolov, a publicist of Warsaw, one of the prominent leaders of the Zionists and a member of the 'Inner Actions Committee' at the outbreak of the war, gives the following picturesque description of the Congress:

I still see that odd motley gathering—Rabbis and University professors, medical men and engineers, lawyers and littérateurs, mathematicians, chemists, bankers, merchants, trades-

men, University students, agriculturists, book-keepers, clerks—all professions and occupations. Orthodox Jews, moderate Conservatives, Chassidim, reformers, freethinkers, Ashkenazim, Sephardim, Galician Straimlech, and Parisian top-hats, German preachers, Lithuanian Rectors of Yeshiboth, Capitalists and Socialists, philanthropists and *Bettelstudenten*, from Polish plains and Swiss mountains, from Lithuanian *Ghetti* and Vienna 'Rings', speaking Russian, Polish, German, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Hungarian, Arabic, Dutch, Bulgarian, Serbian, Danish, Yiddish and Hebrew, all had come there united by one will, unfurling one banner, forgetting at once all their differences, all their communities' petty questions, all their family worries, all their personal troubles, inspired by one idea, devoted to one great cause, reasoning, arguing, discussing, with a power of conviction and enthusiasm as if this question of a home for the nation were the most personal, the most vital question to every one of them.

The second Congress was notable for an eloquent address by Max Nordau. In burning words he attacked the Anti-Semitism of the Gentile, and the lukewarmness of the rich and 'cultured' Jews who remained in Babylon. The fourth Congress was held in London in 1900 at the Queen's Hall. The fifth and sixth were again held in Basle in 1901 and in July 1903. At all of these Herzl presided. In 1901 he was still hopeful of persuading the Sultan to grant a Jewish charter to Palestine, and he visited Constantinople twice in that year. The Sultan Abdul Hamid expressed his sympathy but did not grant the charter. The key-note of the Congress of that year (at which thirty English delegates attended) was the desirability of obtaining concessions in Palestine. The Jewish National Fund, of which more hereafter, was organized for the purchase of land. At the sixth Congress, in 1903, Herzl had to admit the failure of his Turkish negotiations; and the emigration of persecuted Jews to Egypt and to Uganda was suggested as a temporary measure.

Lord Cromer was most sympathetic to the former scheme, and the latter was offered to the Zionists by Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, who had just returned from South Africa. Chamberlain's offer was enthusiastically welcomed by a section of the

Zionists and by all with gratitude. It was a *beau geste* on the part of the Government, and a recognition that Herzl and his following were regarded seriously in serious quarters. The Chamberlain scheme of territory within an English Colony was too tempting and too flattering to be summarily rejected; and, though Herzl said that the Jewish people could have no other ultimate goal than Palestine, and that immigration elsewhere could only be subsidiary, it was at his recommendation that the Congress resolved to send out an expedition to East Africa to investigate the Uganda proposal.

The Russian Zionists, however, regarded the scheme as treason to Zionism, and under the leadership of Ussishkin held a counter-Congress in Palestine in the Colony of Zichron Jacob and another in Charkov in November 1903, which presented an ultimatum to Herzl calling upon him to abandon the scheme.

The press throughout Europe, and especially in England, devoted much space to the subject, and the bibliography of Zionism has been rapidly increasing ever since.¹ In April 1904 a *modus vivendi* was found by a conference of the Greater Actions Committee, which, while taking cognizance of the Palestinian work of the Inner Actions Committee, assented to the dispatch to Uganda of a Commission of Enquiry, but left the final decision to the next Congress. It was at this juncture, when there was this cleavage in the ranks of the Zionists, that Herzl died suddenly, a comparatively young man, on July 3, 1904.

The report brought back by the Commission to Uganda was not a favourable one. The seventh, or 'Sabbath', Congress was held at Basle in July 1905 under the presidency of Max Nordau, and attended by delegates from twenty-two countries. The Jewish Territorial Organization (generally known as 'Ito')

¹ Thus Thomsen's *Palästina-Literatur* contains 84 entries between 1895 and 1904, and 311 entries, including 40 newspapers and magazines, for 1904-9. See also Zeitlin's *Bibliotheca Sionistica*, 1852-1905, limited to Hebrew books on Zionism.

had been founded some months previously by Israel Zangwill and others, who remained members of the Zionist body; but at this Congress such of the Zionists as were 'territorialists' and favoured a colony in Africa or elsewhere were beaten hip and thigh, for the Congress voted all extra-Palestinian work as outside its programme. The proceedings were of a somewhat turbulent nature. A suggestion that the Zionists should be ruled by a triumvirate consisting of Nordau, Marmorek, and Wolffsohn was rejected, the presidency being conferred upon Wolffsohn of Cologne and the seat of administration shifted from Vienna to his city. The Inner Actions Committee, whose president was *ex officio* head of the Zionists, was enlarged from five to seven members resident in Cologne, Berlin, The Hague, Charkov, Paris, and London. In the Greater Actions Committee there were five English delegates, including Zangwill and Gaster.

Of 350 Russian delegates attending this Congress, 300 voted against East Africa. They were what is known as 'Zione Zion', whose one object was Palestine and who claimed that the Jews already resident there must be consulted. Zangwill and the 'Ito' formed a constitutional opposition. The 'Jewish Colonial Trust' was constituted as a financial organization for securing funds for the development of colonization and agriculture in Palestine. In England the 'London Zionist League' was started as a sort of counterpoise to the 'Ito'.

The Actions Committee endeavoured to arrange a conference with other Jewish bodies to see if they would undertake the African scheme; but the 'Ica' and the Alliance Israélite refused, on the ground that the report was unfavourable; while the members of the Anglo-Jewish Association who attended the conference objected to the alternative offered as being, in the circumstances, too speculative. And so the Uganda scheme fell to the ground.

In August 1907 the eighth Congress was held at The Hague, under the presidency of Wolffsohn. A new

constitution was adopted, under which Congresses were to meet every other year, with a conference in the years intervening. The Greater Actions Committee was to consist of (a) twenty-three members elected by Congress on the nomination of standing Committees; (b) the Presidents of the Executives of the National Federation and of other Federations; (c) the Chairmen of Council and Directors of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Anglo-Palestine Co., and the Jewish National Fund; (d) the Chairmen of the Board of Arbitration and the Congress Council. The leadership was to be with the Deputy President and three other members of the Actions Committee.

Wolffsohn's health was breaking down, and he offered to resign; but the Congress decided to make no change in the presidency till their next meeting. The Russian delegates, under Ussishkin, sought to capture the movement. They were all for political work, and wished the seat of administration to be removed from Cologne to Paris or Berlin, but did not carry their point. Wolffsohn was a practical Zionist, and belonged to the more sober section who thought that the preparation of the people and the land for colonizing was the practical work for Palestine. This mode of economic penetration was a reversion to the Palestinian activities of the 'Chovevi Zion' type.

At the biennial conference held in July 1910 a suggestion that the Administration should be strengthened by an Advisory Board consisting of Nordau, Sir Francis Montefiore and Tchlenov, a leading Russian Zionist, fell through, as each of these gentlemen declined to act. Nordau was beginning to create an opposition to the Wolffsohn leadership.

In August 1911 the tenth or 'Jubilee' Congress was held at Basle, under the presidency of Nordau. Here the cleavage between the political Zionists and the cultural Zionists became accentuated, but, on the whole, the tendency was rather to the Palestinian ideals of the 'Chovevi Zion'. A decided movement ensued for the re-establishment of Hebrew as a living

language; and some interest was shown in Jewish emigration outside Palestine to relieve the economic pressure arising out of persecution. A symptom of the cleavage in Zionist ranks was evidenced in the English law courts, where an attempt, opposed by Zangwill in person, was made to restrain the Jewish Colonial Trust from colonizing elsewhere than in Palestine, Syria, Asiatic Turkey, Sinai, and Cyprus. Four hundred delegates from 28 countries attended this Congress, which was chiefly memorable for the progress made by the 'Mizrahists', a section which insisted on the religious side of Zionism as of at least equal importance to the political.

Meantime the differences between Wolffsohn, who was the leader of the cultural Zionists, and the acting President Nordau, who was leader of the political opposition, grew more bitter. Nordau took the opportunity offered him, when he presided at a Herzl Memorial Meeting at Paris in August 1913, while pronouncing an impassioned eulogy of Herzl, to attack Wolffsohn, to defend political Zionism, and explain his own abstention from the forthcoming Congress.

In September 1913 the eleventh and latest Congress was held at Vienna, under the presidency of Wolffsohn. The proceedings at this Congress were disorganized and the Zionists as a body were disappointed and discouraged. It was a triumph of practical over political Zionism. There was a dispute between Nordau and the Executive over the choice of a leader. Tchlenov, the Russian Zionist, was unacceptable, and so was Ussishkin; finally Wolffsohn succeeded in retaining his leadership of the party for a while.

The chief practical outcome of the Congress was the emergence of a Jewish University in Jerusalem. Such a University had formed part of the original programme of 1901, but had been left in the background, as it was feared that it might divert energy from the really urgent agricultural work in Palestine. It was now argued, however, that it might prove valuable because it would bring educated people into Palestine

and advance friendly relations between the Arabs and the Jews, and that the students whom it educated would go out into the world and spread Palestinian ideals among their co-religionists. Even Nordau did not deny that it was practical to make agricultural, economic, and educational experiments in the Holy Land, such as model farms, a Herzl forest, co-operative societies, and a University. But he urged that, although such practical work had so far only resulted in changing the position of 50,000 Jews out of the ten millions in dire need of immediate help, it did none the less prove a theory, and largely and nobly benefit the whole of Jewry by its value and example.

If you go to Palestine (said Nordau) and see a house with a tidy appearance, and ask, Whose house is this? you will be answered, 'It is that of a Jew and a Zionist'. If you see people who are decently clothed, who hold their heads high, who sedulously cultivate the soil; and if, in the midst of deserts where there is no shade, you light upon a place where there are trees, and you ask who planted these trees, again you will be told 'a Jew and a Zionist did this work'. This creates an impression and is a herald of Jewish capacity and dignity.

Wolffsohn died in September 1914. During his illness the leadership of the movement was vested in the Inner Actions Committee, consisting of Warburg, Tchlenov, Sokolov, Hantke, Lewin, and Jacobson, and the administration had been shifted for a while from Cologne to Berlin under Sokolov's management; but the outbreak of the Great War made it necessary for the Zionists to leave Berlin. The members of the Inner Actions Committee went to Copenhagen, and then to New York, where a Provisional Actions Committee, or Emergency Executive, was organized under the chairmanship of Louis D. Brandeis, now a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. His *Jewish Problem and How to Solve It*¹ is one of the most striking Zionist pamphlets which have appeared. He claims that Zionism is not incompatible with

¹ Zionist Essays Publication Committee, New York, 1915.

patriotism, that it has brought inspiration to the Jews in the Diaspora, and that three million American Jews—a fifth of all the Jews in the world—may well insist that

Jews are a distinct nationality, of which every Jew, whatever his country, his station or shade of belief, is necessarily a member. Let us insist that the struggle for liberty shall not cease until equality of opportunity is accorded to nationalities as to individuals. Let us insist also that full equality of opportunity cannot be obtained by Jews until we, like members of other nationalities, shall have the option of living elsewhere or of returning to the land of our forefathers.

§ 12. THE BASEL PROGRAMME

The First Zionist Congress established the Zionist Organization and laid down its programme, known as the Basel programme, in the following terms :

Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end :

1. The promotion on suitable lines of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.

2. The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.

3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.

4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining Government consent where necessary to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.

As has been seen, the second and fourth parts of this programme almost monopolized attention in the earlier years. But, later on, after political conditions had changed in Turkey, the first and third parts of the programme assumed greater importance. Practical work in Palestine and the education of the national sentiment in the younger generation came to the front.

§ 13. ORGANIZATION

The Zionists form an organized democratic electoral system. All Jews become members on payment of

a nominal fee called 'shekel' (in the equivalent of currency, one shilling, franc, or mark). Each member who has paid a shekel for two successive years has one vote, and every group of 200 shekel-payers has the right to elect a delegate to the Zionist Congress.

A delegate must be not less than 24 years of age; a deputy is generally chosen to take his place in case of unavoidable absence from the Congress.

The Congress is the legislative body of the Zionist Organization. The delegates choose from among themselves a 'Greater Actions Committee', of not less than 21, nor more than 60, members.

The Congress then elects from out of this Committee a small Executive Committee of six. Finally the Congress elects a Chairman of the Executive Committee, who is also the President of the Congress, and the Head of the whole Organization. Dr. Theodor Herzl was the first Head until his death in 1904. He was succeeded by David Wolffsohn, whose powers theoretically devolved upon the Inner Actions Committee but were in fact exercised by Dr. Haim Weizmann, a Professor of Science in the Victoria University, Manchester, who possessed great tact and force of character. The head-quarters of the organization were originally Vienna, where Dr. Herzl lived, later Cologne, then Berlin, and, since the war, Copenhagen, New York, and London. The aim of the movement has been to move the head-quarters to Palestine as soon as conditions permit, because no other country can be more than an accidental and temporary head-quarters. The most convenient centre for the majority of Zionists would be in Russia, for, though the fame of the Organization is West European, its life-blood and strongest membership consists of Russian Jews. Berlin was only chosen because of its proximity to Russian Jewry. The Congresses would also have been held in Russia, if the situation of Russian Jewry had been better, and public meetings had not been forbidden by law.

The adherents of the movement are formed into Societies, which in each country are nominally controlled by a local Zionist Federation, or a Zionist

Separate Union, consisting of not less than 3,000 members. These Federations and Separate Unions are responsible to head-quarters for administrative work, e. g. distribution and collection of the shekels, arrangement of elections, reception of leaders and arrangement of propaganda tours, and publication of Zionist literature in the language of the country. Among the more important Separate Unions are the 'Mizrahi', strictly observant Zionists, the 'Poáli Zion', who are Socialists as well as Zionists, and two bodies of Zionist working men united in friendly and benefit societies—the Order of Ancient Maccabeans in England and the Order of Knights of Zion in America.

This Organization has been in existence since the first Congress in 1897, and many improvements have been effected at later Congresses. As a form for the general body of Zionist workers it is excellent, but its extent has never fulfilled the hopes or expectations of its founder Herzl. He tried to bind together the whole of Jewry in the Organization, but unfortunately Jewry was, and still is, to a large extent only nominally one people. The fragments in the different countries still consider themselves more or less independent of all other fragments. English Jews, speaking generally, are more English than Jews, and refuse to become members of any other semi-political organization. They have their votes as British citizens. Their 'Jewishness' can find sufficient scope in a limited religious observance, and they cannot see any reason to become adherents of the Zionist Organization.¹

Apart from the active group of Zionist leaders who carry on the Herzl tradition and the Basle programme of practical politics, the 'Mizrahists' represent the religious element in Zionism as opposed to the secularist and Socialist 'Poáli Zion'. Nearly all the Zionists of Holland, all the Russian Rabbis, probably a majority of the Russian Zionists, and many of those of Germany (especially Frankfurt) belong to the former group.

¹ See *Zionism: its Organization and Institutions*, by S. Landman. (London, 1915.)

The latter, or the 'pig and plough' Zionists, are agricultural, scientific, non-religious, perhaps anti-religious. Their chief adherents are the students and radicals, the intellectuals of the United States as well as Russia. The most forceful and energetic Zionist leaders belong to them. The long duration of the war and the vast upheavals of the Jewish populations of Eastern Europe have made it difficult to estimate the relative strength of the two parties. Probably the majority rests with the secularists; but, merely on grounds of policy, they would be badly advised ostentatiously to eliminate religion. It is said that a father of a boy at the Jaffa gymnasium, who asked the authorities to see to it that he was confirmed, was met with a blank refusal on the ground that they had nothing to do with religious matters. The Commission recently sent out to Palestine under the auspices of the British Government contained no member of the Mizrahi party. A Jewish Palestine without Judaism is unthinkable; and it cannot be denied that many, perhaps desirable, adherents to the cause have been frightened away because of its lack of spirituality.

§ 14. THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

The Jewish National Fund was organized with a view to develop the systematic colonization activity in Palestine. Its establishment originated at the first Zionist Congress (1897), when Professor Shapira of Heidelberg proposed that donations should be collected from Jews of all parts of the world in order to create a 'General Jewish Fund', of which two-thirds were to be devoted to the purchase of land, and one-third to its maintenance and cultivation. Such land was to be mainly rural, suitable for colonization, and never to be sold, but let only to Jews upon hereditary lease. Four years later, at the fifth Congress, a Jewish National Fund was constituted as a limited liability company, with its control vested in the Zionist Congress and its mandatories as the chosen representatives of the Jewish

people. Under its memorandum and articles of association only 75 per cent. can be invested in Palestine, and the balance must be reserved in cash or realizable securities. Its bankers are the Jewish Colonial Trust, Ltd. It professes to meet the needs of three-fourths of the Jewish population of the world, i. e. about 6,000,000 in Russia, 1,000,000 in Galicia and the Bukovina, 250,000 in Rumania, 150,000 in the East of London, and 3,000,000 in the United States. These live in 'densely concentrated settlements', display an almost uniform mode of living, and speak the same tongue (Yiddish).

A quarter of the Russian Jews are artisans who are practically excluded from the factories of the country; and even where, as in Poland, Jewish business men of the middle class exist, their living is 'threatened by a boycott organized by the autochthonous population in order to displace the Jewish middle class by their own, which is still in the course of formation'. In consequence of the war, hundreds of thousands of Jews in the regions in which the war has been raging have been reduced to beggary and will be compelled to emigrate. The claim that Russia itself, once the restrictions of right of domicile are abolished, would become a sort of Paradise for the Jews is untenable, 'in the light of the fact that anti-semitism is prevalent even in the countries where there are no Jewish masses.' In the ten years after 1892 over 120,000 Galician Jews out of a population of 850,000 emigrated to America. Between 1881 and 1908 about a million and a half Russian Jews emigrated thither. Even there overcrowding and cases of much poverty and distress are found. The American Department of Labour (*Bulletin*, 1908) describes the position in which the Jewish domestic workers live as 'quite terrible', and states that they are condemned to work under the worst conditions.

Since 1908 many Jewish emigrants have been diverted to Palestine under the auspices of the Zionists, and it is hoped that, with a brighter future opening out

for Palestine, such emigration will be largely increased. The Zionist Fund already amounts to over 12,000,000 francs, and this too is expected to be largely increased. Up to 1914 the capital of the National Fund invested in Palestine amounted to £195,000. In a second edition of a pamphlet on the Fund (No. 1 of the National Fund Library recently issued), it is stated that during the eight months of the year 1917, notwithstanding the colossal disadvantages under which it laboured, its revenue exceeded £50,000, derived as to 531,000 francs from Russia, 214,000 from North America, 18,000 from Holland, 15,000 from England, 15,000 from Canada, 14,000 from the Argentine, 40,000 from South Africa, Switzerland, Greece, East Asia, France, Sweden, Egypt, Denmark, Belgium, Australia, and Italy, and from 'other countries',¹ presumably central Europe, 453,000 francs.¹

§ 15. ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

During the war, there have been cross-currents in Jewry which have resulted in a distinct triumph for the Zionists. The Palestine question is one of the great problems for the Peace Congress. The Governments of the Allied Powers, especially Great Britain, the United States, France, and Italy, are believed to see its solution in some government by or for the Jews. Most Zionists hope for this under the aegis of Great Britain. The great Jewish communal bodies, especially in England, have kept aloof from the Zionists. Russian pogroms and Rumania's disregard of the Treaty of Berlin inspired them with horror and indignation. But the Zionists, somewhat unfairly, taunt them because their feelings of generosity and philanthropy had diverted the Hirsch millions to South America rather than to Palestine, because their philanthropy was blind, and they seemed opposed to any scheme which went beyond almsgiving. As a matter of fact

¹ See *The Jewish National Fund*, by Adolf Böhm, 2nd ed. The Hague, 1917.

such communal bodies have done good and great work for their brethren. The co-operation of English and French Jews in the Damascus affair of 1840, when the Jewish quarter was sacked and Montefiore, Crémieux, and Munk were delegated to Alexandria and Constantinople, to intervene for their oppressed co-religionists, marked a turning-point in Jewish history. It was the first time that Western Jews had worked together for the protection of Jewish interests all over the world. A more recent instance of persecution, the forced abduction and baptism of Mortara in Rome, led to the establishment in 1860 at Paris of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. And, when the position of this international body was threatened by the Franco-Prussian War, it was deemed advisable to found in England the Anglo-Jewish Association to carry on the work. The Association started as an English branch of the parent institution, but has, ever since 1871, maintained a separate existence, though the two have always preserved friendly and indeed intimate relations. Its successive presidents have been Jacob Waley, Baron H. de Worms, Sir Julian Goldsmid, M.P., and Claude G. Montefiore.

The Jewish Board of Deputies was founded in 1846 to watch the interests of the Jews of Great Britain and Ireland. Originally composed only of 'Deputies of the Portuguese Nation', it now consists of representatives of various Metropolitan and Provincial Synagogues, and may be taken to be fairly representative of the Jewish community in this country, although a considerable number of Jews resident in England are not members of such Synagogues. Among its presidents have been Sir Moses Montefiore, his nephews, J. M. Montefiore, Sir Joseph Sebag Montefiore, and Arthur Cohen, Q.C., D. L. Alexander, K.C., and now Sir Stuart Samuel. The Board is concerned, *inter alia*, with the protection of rights of the Jews in this country in respect to such matters as marriages, Sabbath observance, &c. But, especially in Sir Moses' time, it never failed, in cases of emergency, to invite

and beg the intervention of the Government when foreign Jews were being flagrantly persecuted.

The Anglo-Jewish Association was founded in 1871, to continue the work of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which, before the Franco-Prussian War, had interested itself in the welfare of persecuted Jews all over the world. Its aims were 'to aid in promoting the social, moral, and intellectual progress of the Jew', and 'to obtain protection for those who may suffer in consequence of being Jews'. Accordingly, when any grave case of persecution arose, the Anglo-Jewish Association, like the Board of Deputies, sought the intervention of the British Government. This produced a certain amount of overlapping; and, from the year 1886, the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association appointed a 'conjoint' committee of both bodies to deal with the British Government in such cases. Its meetings were presided over alternately by the presidents of its constituents, and its political secretary was Mr. Lucien Wolf. This Conjoint Committee was composed of leading English Jews, and its relations with the British Government were always highly satisfactory. The Foreign Office never turned a deaf ear to its representations; and the Jews gratefully acknowledged that the Government could always be relied upon to bring its powerful influence to bear in lessening, and often preventing, the sufferings of Jewish victims of persecution. The Committee was in close touch with similar Jewish committees abroad, especially the American Jewish Committee, and its labours were attended with considerable success, so that, before the war, they had almost persuaded the Governments of Russia and Rumania to relax their Anti-Semitic legislation and administration. When the war broke out everything was altered. The persecuting Governments became our friends, and Palestine was a most important factor in the war policy of the Allies. To Zionists and non-Zionists alike the future of the country had become a matter of vital interest. On October 1, 1916, the

Conjoint Committee submitted to H.M. Government the following formula in regard to Jewish interests in Palestine :

In the event of Palestine coming within the spheres of influence of Great Britain or France at the close of the war, the Governments of those Powers will not fail to take account of the historic interest that country possesses for the Jewish community. The Jewish population will be secured in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, equal political rights with the rest of the population, reasonable facilities for immigration and colonization, and such municipal privileges in the towns and colonies inhabited by them as may be shown to be necessary.

Meantime the Zionists had entered into direct relations with the Foreign Office, and attempts were not wanting to bring the Conjoint Committee into line with them. But its formula fell short of the Basle programme, and no agreement could be arrived at. The Conjoint Committee instructed their two presidents to make the following public statement of their views as to Jewish resettlement and their objections to the Nationalist policy of the Zionists :

In view of the statements and discussions lately published in the newspapers relative to a projected Jewish resettlement in Palestine on a national basis, the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association deem it necessary to place on record the views they hold on this important question.

The Holy Land has necessarily a profound and undying interest for all Jews as the cradle of their religion, the main theatre of Bible History, and the site of its sacred memorials. It is not, however, as a mere shrine or place of pilgrimage that they regard the country. Since the dawn of their political emancipation in Europe, the Jews have made the rehabilitation of the Jewish community in the Holy Land one of their chief cares ; and they have always cherished the hope that the result of their labours would be the regeneration on Palestinian soil of a Jewish community worthy of the great memories of their environment, and a source of spiritual inspiration to the whole of Jewry. Accordingly, the Conjoint Committee have welcomed with deep satisfaction the prospect of a rich fruition of this work, opened to them by the victorious progress of the British Army in Palestine.

The 'Cultural' Policy.—Anxious that on this question all sections and parties in Jewry should be united in a common effort, the Committee intimated to the Zionist organizations as far back as the winter of 1914 their readiness to co-operate with them on the basis of the so-called 'cultural' policy which had been adopted at the last two Zionist Congresses in 1911 and 1913. This policy aimed primarily at making Palestine a Jewish spiritual centre by securing for the local Jews, and the colonists who might join them, such conditions of life as would best enable them to develop the Jewish genius on lines of its own. Larger political questions, not directly affecting this main purpose, were left to be solved as need and opportunity might render possible. Unfortunately, an agreement on these lines has not proved practicable; and the Conjoint Committee are consequently compelled to pursue their work alone. They are doing so on the basis of a formula adopted by them in March 1916, in which they proposed to recommend to His Majesty's Government the formal recognition of the high historic interest Palestine possesses for the Jewish community, and a public declaration that at the close of the war 'the Jewish population will be secured in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, equal political rights with the rest of the population, reasonable facilities for immigration and colonization, and such municipal privileges in the towns and colonies inhabited by them as may be shown to be necessary'.

That is still the policy of the Conjoint Committee.

Meanwhile the Committee have learnt from the published statements of the Zionist leaders in this country that they now favour a much larger scheme of an essentially political character. Two points in this scheme appear to the Committee to be open to grave objections on public grounds.

Nationality and religion.—The first is a claim that the Jewish settlements in Palestine shall be recognized as possessing a national character in a political sense. Were this claim of purely local import, it might well be left to settle itself in accordance with the general political exigencies of the reorganization of the country under a new sovereign power. The Conjoint Committee, indeed, would have no objections to urge against a local Jewish nationality establishing itself in such conditions. But the present claim is not of this limited scope. It is part and parcel of a wider Zionist theory which regards all the Jewish communities of the world as constituting one homeless nationality, incapable of complete social and political identification with the nations among whom they dwell; and it is argued that for this homeless nationality a political centre and an always available homeland in Palestine are necessary.

Against this theory the Conjoint Committee strongly and earnestly protest. Emancipated Jews in this country regard themselves primarily as a religious community, and they have always based their claims to political equality with their fellow-citizens of other creeds on this assumption, and on its corollary—that they have no separate national aspirations in a political sense. They hold Judaism to be a religious system with which their political status has no concern; and they maintain that, as citizens of the countries in which they live, they are fully and sincerely identified with the national spirit and interests of those countries. It follows that the establishment of a Jewish nationality in Palestine founded on this theory of Jewish homelessness must have the effect throughout the world of stamping the Jews as strangers in their native lands, and of undermining their hard-won position as citizens and nationals of those lands. Moreover a Jewish political nationality carried to its logical conclusion must in the present circumstances of the world be an anachronism. The Jewish religion being the only certain test of the Jew, a Jewish nationality must be founded on, and limited by, the religion. It cannot be supposed for a moment that any section of Jews would aim at a commonwealth governed by religious tests and limited in the matter of freedom of conscience; but can a religious nationality express itself politically in any other way? The only alternative would be a secular Jewish nationality recruited on some loose and obscure principle of race and ethnographic peculiarity; but this would not be Jewish in any spiritual sense, and its establishment in Palestine would be a denial of all the ideals and hopes by which the revival of Jewish life in that country commends itself to the Jewish consciousness and Jewish sympathy. On these grounds the Conjoint Committee deprecate most earnestly the national proposals of the Zionists.

Undesirable privileges.—The second point in the Zionist programme which has aroused the misgivings of the Conjoint Committee is the proposal to invest the Jewish settlers in Palestine with certain special rights in excess of those enjoyed by the rest of the population, these rights to be embodied in a Charter and administered by a Jewish Chartered Company. Whether it is desirable or not to confide any portion of the administration of Palestine to a Chartered Company need not be discussed; but it is certainly very undesirable that Jews should solicit or accept such a concession on a basis of political privilege and economic preferences. Any such action would prove a veritable calamity for the whole Jewish people. In all the countries in which they live the principle of equal rights

for all religious denominations is vital for them. Were they to set an example in Palestine of disregarding this principle, they would convict themselves of having appealed to it for purely selfish motives. In the countries in which they are still struggling for equal rights they would find themselves hopelessly compromised, while in other countries where those rights have been secured they would have great difficulty in defending them.

The proposal is the more inadmissible because the Jews are, and will probably long remain, a minority of the population in Palestine, and because it might involve them in the bitterest feuds with their neighbours of other races and religions, which would seriously retard their progress, and would find deplorable echoes throughout the Orient. Nor is the scheme necessary for the Zionists themselves. If the Jews prevail in a competition based on perfect equality of rights and opportunity, they will establish their eventual preponderance in the land on a far sounder foundation than any that can be secured by privileges and monopolies.

If the Conjoint Committee can be satisfied with regard to these points they will be prepared to co-operate for securing for the Zionist Organization the united support of Jewry.

(Signed) DAVID L. ALEXANDER,
President, Board of Deputies of British Jews.

CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE,
President, Anglo-Jewish Association.

London, *May 17th*, 1917.

This statement appeared in *The Times* of May 24, 1917, and raised a storm of protest in the Jewish community. Among the dissentients who wrote to *The Times* were the Chief Rabbi, Lord Rothschild, and a member of the Conjoint Committee, E. N. Adler, who pointed out that the statement did not represent the views of the majority either of Jews or non-Jews or even of the constituent assemblies which the Conjoint Committee represented. The Jewish Board of Deputies denounced the treaty with the Anglo-Jewish Association, and the Conjoint Committee came to an end. After considerable discussion, its place was taken by a 'Joint Committee' with a mandate to represent its constituents on all matters except Palestine; but in November 1918 this embargo was removed, and it is hoped that, in view of

the moderation of present Zionist demands, these may be supported, or at any rate not opposed, by the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association. The irreconcilables formed themselves into a 'League of British Jews' so as to protect each other against the insinuation that they are aliens in the land of their birth, and that, as Jews, they cannot be Englishmen! The League is believed to have achieved no great success; and the Zionists, while denying that there is any ground for their fears, retort that those who wish to stay in the wilderness may stay there.

In Germany the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* was founded in 1901 for the relief of oppressed Jews abroad, and ultimately ousted the German branch of the Alliance Israélite. The *Hilfsverein* founded and supported schools in Palestine, and, largely owing to the liberality of two of its prominent members, Herr Jacob Simon and Dr. Paul Nathan, acquired very considerable influence there. At first it encouraged the use of the Hebrew language as the vehicle of instruction, but eventually it demanded, perhaps at the instigation of the Wilhelmstrasse, that Hebrew should for the most part be replaced by German. This method of German propaganda was attacked in August 1913 by a meeting of the Palestinian Teachers' Union held in Jaffa. Over a hundred teachers from all parts of Palestine attended, and almost unanimously passed a resolution that 'the principles of national education demand that all subjects of instruction shall be taught in the Hebrew language, and this meeting pledges the members of the Teachers' Union to fight with all energy against the instruction of secular subjects in a foreign language'.¹ In January 1914 the new Haifa Technical Institute, which drew its support from Jewry all over the world, especially from America, Russia, and Germany, was threatened with ruin by the bitter controversy which ensued. A suggested compromise only succeeded in fanning the indignation

¹ *The German Attack on the Hebrew Schools in Palestine*, by Israel Cohen (London, 1918).

of the Zionists and young colonists and students of Palestine. Imposing demonstrations against the *Hilfsverein* were made in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa, and also in Europe and the United States. Many of the teachers in the *Hilfsverein* schools resigned their posts or were dismissed. The war put an end to the controversy by stopping educational activities in Palestine for the time; but, as Mr. Israel Cohen observes,

It is not unreasonable to suppose the change of policy of the *Hilfsverein* was due to secret pressure exercised by the German Government, with a view to making the Jewish schools nurseries of Prussian *Kultur*. This sinister intention was ignominiously defeated through Palestinian Jewry rising to the defence of the Hebrew language as of its most holy possession.

§ 16. THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

After the conquest of Palestine by General Allenby, the British Government lost no time in taking steps to fulfil the promise made by Mr. Balfour in his declaration of November 2, 1917. The declaration ran as follows:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

This Declaration has since been endorsed by the Governments of France and Italy. President Wilson has also publicly expressed his sympathy with the British Government's Declaration.

The Government authorized the Zionist Organization to send out to Palestine a commission, representative of English, American, French, and Russian Jewry, to investigate and work out ways and means for the establishment of the Jewish national home. The commission went to Palestine accompanied by Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., as their liaison

officer with the British authorities of Palestine. It returned in October 1918, but Zionists have so far done little to set forth a practical scheme for the administration of Palestine under their auspices.

The Jews of Palestine divide themselves into two very distinct sections. The old inhabitants are descendants of refugees from Spain and Portugal who began to settle there early in the sixteenth century, and of successive generations of pilgrims who had gone there to study and live a life of contemplation and die in the land of their fathers. These are persons of not much initiative and largely dependent on a somewhat mischievous system, known as *Halukah* ('distribution') because the money collected for Palestine among the Jews of Europe and America was distributed between them. *Halukah* benefits correspond with the allowances made to 'remittance men' in the Colonies.

The second class, however, consists of genuine colonists, agriculturists, students, and even painters and sculptors, who have come to Palestine during recent years from Russia, Rumania, and elsewhere, some of them the victims of persecution, seeking a refuge anywhere, but others drawn to Palestine and Palestine only by the ideals of the Chovevi Zion and the Zionists. They came from love of the country, and a real desire to revive it, and make it again a land of milk and honey. To this class also a considerable number of the officers and men of the Jewish regiments which served in Palestine are likely to belong.

An interesting suggestion for the new Zionist situation is set forth in a communication to the *Jewish Chronicle* of November 15, 1918. The letter assumes that Palestine is to be under British suzerainty, but to be forthwith administered by a 'Jewish Commonwealth'. Inasmuch as the Jews are at present by no means a majority of the population, the principle of self-determination cannot yet apply; but it is admitted to be essential that such a Commonwealth must be acceptable to the present inhabitants, and that no landowner should be expropriated. It suggests that such

a Jewish administration would be acceptable to the Arabs and would possess their confidence. The writer attaches great importance to the name of the country. He thinks it should be called 'Israel', and the inhabitants 'Israelites', whether they profess the Jewish religion or not. Hebrew is to be the language of the country, the governor a Jew, preferably one who has distinguished himself as an administrator in the British Empire. The governor is to be assisted by a State Council, partly nominated and partly elected. There is to be complete religious toleration, but Jewish law is to be the fundamental law of the land, and Jewish Sabbaths and Holy Days are to be the recognized days of rest.

This scheme seems somewhat premature, but, so far as the Arabs are concerned, the son of the King of the Hejaz, the Emir Feizul, is reported to have stated in London on December 11 that

Arabs are not jealous of Zionist Jews and intend to give them fair play, and the Zionist Jews have assured the Nationalist Arabs of their intention to see that they too have fair play in their respective areas. Turkish intrigue in Palestine has raised jealousy between the Jewish colonists and the local peasants; but the mutual understanding of the aims of the Arabs and the Jews will at once clear away the last trace of this former bitterness.

Dr. Weizmann himself, on his return from Palestine, has reported to the Zionists in such wise as to disappoint some of the keenest nationalists among them. They fear that the future condition of Palestine, as he foreshadows it, is by no means ambitious enough. They are inclined to regard his proposals as merely colonization and 'the settling on the land of a number of peasants, presumably those who are unable to live in other countries, and who would be glad to go to Palestine on charity lines'. He is not sufficiently nationalist for them, and they fear that his Zionism is merely that of the old Chovevi Zion philanthropist. They ask whether this is not precisely the formula of the Conjoint Committee of March 3, 1916, which

claimed for the Jewish population of Palestine liberty and political rights and reasonable facilities for emigration and colonization, and such municipal privileges as are shown to be necessary. And they ask, therefore, what need there has been for the acute differences of opinion which have, for the last year, divided the Anglo-Jewish community into two camps, Zionists on the one hand, and their opponents on the other. As a matter of fact, the expression of such doubts is no discouraging feature. It rather seems to show a tendency to *rapprochement* between the two schools. Extremists on both sides will have to give way.

Jewish opinion would prefer Palestine to be controlled for the present as a part, or at any rate a dependency, of the British Empire; but its administration should be largely entrusted to Jews of the colonist type, who have already made such notable improvements in the cultivation of the soil, notwithstanding the almost hopeless difficulties imposed upon them by their former corrupt Turkish rulers. Zionists of this way of thinking believe that, under such conditions, the Jewish population would rapidly increase until the Jew became the predominant partner in the combination.

The Hebrew language is already spoken in many parts of Palestine by thousands of inhabitants and by more people than any other language except its sister-tongue—the Arabic. For the adoption by non-Jews of a Jewish dialect Zionists can point to the instance of Salonika, where Spanish Jews form about half the population and their *Ladino* or Spanish Hebrew has been to some extent adopted as the language of commerce by Jew and non-Jew alike.

Outside Jewry, an overwhelming mass of public opinion would appear to favour Jewish administration in Palestine, not that it could ever provide a home for the millions of Jews in eastern Europe, but because it would satisfy their secular aspirations, raise their sense of dignity and self-respect, and relieve, to some extent at least, the pressure of the congested districts in which circumstances have forced them to congregate.

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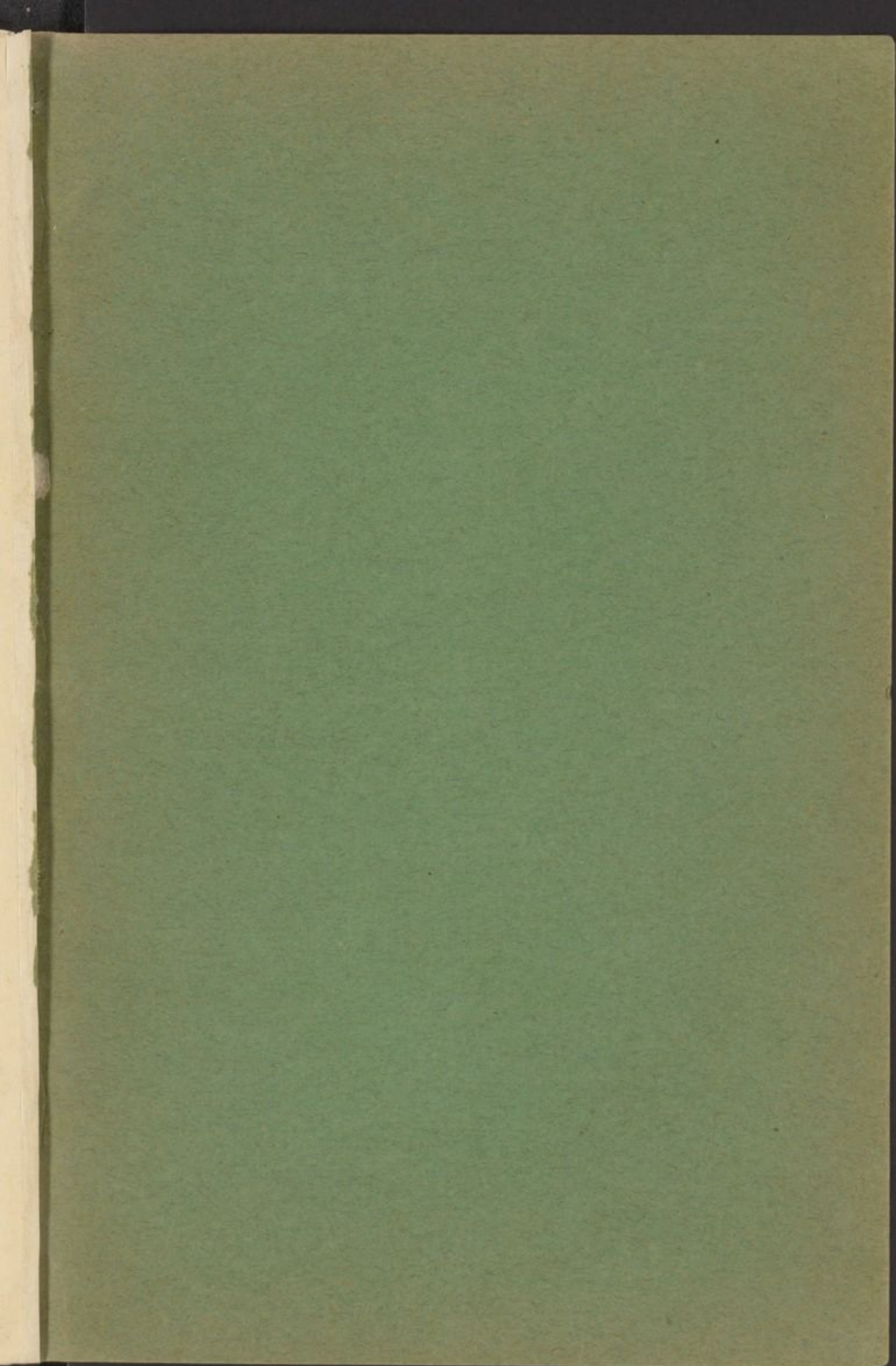
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